



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Germany. 'The English talk grandly about their peaceful intentions, but they make more wars than any other nation, and they possess a fleet which puts all their neighbors at their mercy on the sea. Let us therefore acknowledge her words, but let us be strong enough to "defend our dignity and independence."' Thus the process of piling up armaments goes forward and is justified at every turn by the behavior of somebody else. 'We are all pacifists,' say the nations in chorus, 'but —'

"Are we to say, then, that the words count for nothing? We believe the very opposite to be the truth. The words, in our opinion, are perfectly sincere, and, so far as they go, represent a real advance in the public sentiment of Europe about war. When the Englishman says that he has no aggressive intentions and no desire to break the peace, we know him to be speaking the truth, and when the German says that his position in Europe is such as to make war for him an incalculable risk, he is saying what our common sense tells us is an obvious truism. War is not what it was in the eighteenth century, a conflict of limited liability in a railed-off enclosure, but the hurling of whole populations against each other, accompanied by infinite destruction of life, property, and the complicated mechanism of civilization. No one can calculate its cost; no one can say where it would stop if once started between the great powers of Europe. The idea, for instance, of a single-handed encounter between this country and Germany, which some frivolous people in both countries appear to contemplate as the warlike operation of least risk, is almost unthinkable, for there is scarcely any emergency in such a struggle which would not involve a third or a fourth or a fifth power. Statesmen in responsible positions must be sincere when they tell us that the idea of precipitating such a conflict fills them with horror. Men in responsible positions may still think of war as the last grim resource in a life-and-death emergency, but they can no longer indulge in dreams of aggression or of honor and glory to be gained by fighting. The homage that is paid to peace is, therefore, undoubtedly sincere, and probably more genuine among the mass of people in France and Germany, where war is still remembered, than elsewhere.

"Unfortunately, it is this very fear of war which may in time to come be the chief danger to peace. The fear leads to the armaments, and the armaments, as the Prime Minister said to the Peace Congress, are made to be used. The fear leads also to the mischievous belief that a neighbor is plotting mischief, and that he had better be stopped before he gets too strong. The chauvinist is always for war in the name of peace — a war now to prevent a worse struggle hereafter. He lives in a constant state of alarm and suspicion, which he takes for courage and patriotism, and this makes him turbulent and quarrelsome. But it is fear, and not aggressiveness or ambition, which controls him, and this, we hope, will prove a more manageable emotion as time goes on. If by some miracle the Englishman could for ten minutes get into the skin of the German, and the German into the skin of the Englishman, each, to his great surprise, would discover that the other was absolutely sincere, both when he disavowed all aggressive aims on his own part and when he declared himself apprehensive about the designs of the other. The moment that was mutually

understood the whole question would be over, and the two nations would laugh at the absurdity of their respective alarms and the folly of having to insure against them at an immense cost to themselves. Unfortunately, this miracle cannot be worked, and we must go on paying for our suspicions till time and good sense remove them. We are glad to think, however, that, in spite of some vicissitudes, the growth of opinion is in the right direction. Prince Bülow says justly that Germany has avoided war for forty years, but she has perhaps not always avoided the temptation of scaring her neighbors about war. It will be a great gain if, as a Reuter message encourages us to hope this morning, we can get through the remaining stages of the Morocco question without a renewal of these scares, or even of the diplomatic tension which gives rise to them. In the meantime, the more there is of mutual intercourse and conference, such as is promoted by the Interparliamentary Union, the better it will be for the gradual growth of the sentiment which will ultimately bring relief from the burden of armaments. The problem is to substitute a peace resting on mutual confidence for a peace which is secured by fear of armaments. The day when that is accomplished may be far or near, but there will be no real international civilization till it comes."

Treaties and Armaments.

Mr. H. S. Perris, who, as Organizing Secretary of the recent London Peace Congress, did such self-sacrificing and effective work for the success of the Congress, has sent the following timely letter to the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*:

"Sir: The moral drawn by some politicians and newspapers from the 'tearing up of the Berlin Treaty' by Austria and Bulgaria is, as it seems to me, such a curious inversion of the true significance of these deplorable events that I crave the hospitality of your columns for a few words on the subject.

"It is argued that, because Austria and Bulgaria have become treaty-breakers, therefore treaties must henceforth be regarded as of little or no avail to check the lawless passions of nations, and we must therefore, in acceptance of this grim conclusion, look to a further increase of our armaments as the only effective check upon lawless aggression and safeguard of lawful interest. To this conclusion I beg respectfully to demur.

"I maintain that the recent events are a further proof of the evil of great armaments rather than an argument for an extension of that evil. 'How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds makes ill deeds done!' Mr. Asquith told us recently that 'the annual expenditure of the civilized nations of the world upon armaments is now somewhere between £400,000,000 and £500,000,000.'

"These things," he said, 'are intended to be used, and at some moment, by the sudden outburst possibly of an accidental fit of passion or temper, they will be let loose upon the world.' He continued: 'Are we to acquiesce in this state of things, in that temper, if I may so describe it, of futile and impotent fatalism which is now, as it always has been, the worst enemy to progress and reform?' I ask those of your readers who may have been

led astray by hasty generalizations upon recent events to bear these significant words in mind.

"It will not better the condition of the world to add to its already excessive burdens by increasing the implements, and thereby the temptation, for international pillage and lawlessness. To do that is to despair of civilization and in the name of self-defense to turn ourselves into licensed freebooters and pirates.

"Surely the true need is for a more strenuous appeal to and a more courageous reliance upon the sense of law, the speedy creation of a Court of International Appeal, and the abatement of that armed rivalry and lust of predominance which poisons our international relations and inflicts frightful burdens upon the great masses of the people of all countries.

"Wrong will not be driven out by feverish preparations for worse wrong in international any more than in personal relations. To draw from recent events such a mistaken moral as I have indicated is an example of that 'futile and impotent fatalism' of which the Premier spoke to the delegates at the recent Peace Congress."

The North Carolina Peace Congress.

The North Carolina Peace Congress met at Greensboro October 12 to 15, in connection with the celebration of the local centennial and the Good Roads Congress. The mayor of the city, Hon. L. J. Brandt, gave the delegates a hearty welcome and wished them godspeed in their crusade for peace, a cause in which he himself heartily believed.

One of the principal addresses of the conference was made by Hon. James B. McCreary, United States Senator from Kentucky, on the "Possibilities of the Pan-American Union." Senator McCreary spoke of the value of the new transcontinental railway as a factor in international peace, of the famous arbitration treaty between Chile and Argentina, which is commemorated by the statue of the "Christ of the Andes," and of the laying of the corner-stone of the Bureau of the American Republics, in Washington, an institution which has already proved its efficacy in promoting friendly commercial relations among the republics of the three Americas. Mr. McCreary looks with favor upon the bill pending in the United States Senate for the creation of a delegation of permanent representatives in the Pan-American and the Hague Conferences. As a finish to his speech he said: "I hope to see Congress, which annually appropriates millions of dollars for war, appropriate a few thousand dollars for peace."

Among the other speakers were Dr. W. L. Poteat, President of Wake Forest College; Dr. John Franklin Crowell, formerly President of Trinity College, Durham, now the associate editor of the *Wall Street Journal*, New York; and Governor Ansell of South Carolina.

Dr. Crowell was unable to be present, and his speech was read by Dr. J. J. Hall. Dr. Crowell brought out very strongly the fact that the present extraordinary expenditures for armaments must soon of necessity be devoted to better economic purposes.

Through the addresses of Senator McCreary, Dr. Crowell and Dr. Poteat, however, ran the thought of "adequate armament and effective arbitration," an ambiguous phrase which characterizes the position of the

North Carolina Peace Congress. But the vital discussion of this inconsistent platform did not come until the last session, when it took practical shape in a debate between Rev. William G. Hubbard, a vice-president of the American Peace Society, and Congressman Richmond P. Hobson, on the question of a larger navy.

The attitude of Captain Hobson is well known. He has for two or three years past been advocating arbitration with the largest possible navy. He worked out his proposition in a new way on this occasion by taking for his topic, "States' Rights, Arbitration and Armament," arguing under the head of States' Rights for a navy to protect both the Pacific and the Atlantic States, each of which group of States has an equal right to be considered in a scheme for naval protection.

Mr. Hubbard, who spoke first, anticipated the argument of Captain Hobson, and closed a vigorous speech by saying that Japan has no more idea of attacking the United States than the man in the moon has of attacking the United States and Great Britain.

Although there were members of the Congress who believed in a platform of arbitration without an overgrown navy, and opposed the self-contradictory position taken by Captain Hobson and others, they were outnumbered, and the resolutions which were passed practically endorsed the great navy plan. An attempt, however, to unite the North Carolina Peace Society with the Practical Peace League, a new national peace society which favors naval extension, failed.

During the Congress letters were received from President Roosevelt, commending the cause, and from Hayne Davis, who, though the originator of the Congress and the president of the North Carolina Society, was not present.

Among the North Carolinians who were chosen to preside at different sessions of the Congress was Professor F. S. Blair of Guilford College, a member of the American Peace Society, who has for many years done valuable work for the peace movement in his State.

An inspiring feature of the Congress was the participation in the discussions of Mrs. Lizzie G. Henderson, former President-General of the Daughters of the Confederacy. Mrs. Henderson had carefully canvassed the opinion of the different state branches of her society and found that they were unanimous for peace principles. Her speech was remarkable for its earnest appeals, and lifted the Congress for the time being to a high ethical plane. "I was born," she said, "glutted with war, and I want no more of it. Teach us on this subject that we may teach our sons, that we may instill their very beings with this fact: that no honor which war can confer can equal that of being able to find a way to honorable peace among all nations. The Daughters of the Confederacy want no more war forever. A Georgia Daughter expresses it for us thus: 'And we, the Daughters of the Confederacy, who bound the wounds of friend and foe in the struggle, who visited and comforted the sick and the dying whose blood watered our scorched fields; we, who took up the burden of the yet bitter days of reconstruction, are now hostesses in the house of peace, vestals at the altar of truth, women who, having known all the sorrows and sufferings of war, are thus fitted to show forth the power of peace.'"

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONGRESS.

"In the interest of universal peace and justice, be it